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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

April 12, 1986

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

During the 1980 Presidential campaign, you described the SALT II Treaty as "fatally flawed, unequal, and illegal," and you stated that you would withdraw it from the Senate if you were elected President. Former President Carter stated that the 1980 election was a national referendum on his proposed SALT II Treaty. SALT II lost when you won.

Enclosed are two letters signed by a total of 34 Senators opposing continued U.S. compliance with the "fatally flawed," unequal, unratified, expired, and systematically violated SALT II Treaty. These 34 Senators would constitute under the Constitution's treaty-making powers enough votes to block the advice and consent of two thirds of the Senate present and voting for the President to ratify the proposed SALT II Treaty. Moreover, on November 1, 1983, 37% of the Senators present and voting (30) voted against the SALT II Treaty. Therefore sustaining U.S. SALT II compliance does not appear to have the Constitutionally required support in the Senate. No doubt this was a factor at the National Security Council meeting on May 21, 1981, when you reportedly stated a preference to have SALT II withdrawn from the Senate.

There are good reasons why a "Blocking Third" of the Senate is against continued U.S. compliance with SALT II. First, it was unequal, because the Soviets were allowed a monopoly of 820 heavy, counterforce ICBMs and did not have to count their 300 intercontinental Backfire bombers--even though equality is mandated by U.S. law. Second, it allowed the Soviets to add over 4,000 nuclear warheads, and it failed to limit thousands of stockpiled missiles capable of rapid refire. Largely for these reasons, the Senate Armed Services Committee voted without dissent in December, 1979, that the proposed SALT II Treaty was unequal, unbalanced, destabilizing, and "not in the national security interest of

the United States." This judgment has been proven correct by history. Since 1979, the Soviet strategic nuclear arsenal has increased to an even higher level than the Joint Chiefs of Staff estimated in 1979 that the Soviets would deploy by 1985, even if no SALT II had ever been signed. Thus SALT II has failed to constrain the Soviet threat.

You are no doubt aware of former President Carter's reasons for deferring the Senate's debate on the proposed SALT II Treaty in January, 1980. The Soviets had deployed a Combat Brigade to Cuba and ruthlessly invaded Afghanistan, for the first time since World War II using regular Soviet troops in combat outside the Soviet Bloc. Now the Soviets are ahead of the worst case estimate made by the JCS in 1979; the Soviets have engaged in the genocidal use of chemical and bacteriological agents against innocent civilians in Afghanistan which is banned by international law; and the potential Soviet nuclear threat from Cuba is twice what it was in 1962. President Carter's stated purpose for deferring the SALT II debate was to assess Soviet intentions. Perhaps the reported Soviet flight-test on April 2, 1986 of a new 6th Generation ICBM in further multiple violation of SALT II summarizes Soviet intentions.

Indeed, there clearly has been an ever expanding pattern of Soviet SALT violations. Your first January 1984 report identified 7 Soviet violations, and your December 1985 report contained over 18. There are 31 to 50 Soviet arms control violations confirmed by you depending on which categories

On June 10, 1985, Mr. President, you set out three criteria for continuing to comply unilaterally with the unratified, expired SALT II Treaty:

1. Soviet actions correcting their noncompliance;
2. Soviet actions reversing their military buildup;
3. Soviet actions promoting specific progress in the Geneva arms negotiations.

But the Soviets are still refusing to even acknowledge, not to mention reverse, their increasing SALT violations, are continuing their massive and relentless military buildup, and are refusing to make specific negotiating progress at Geneva. Thus by each of the three U.S. criteria for continuing to comply with SALT II, there is no logic in the U.S. policy except that of unilateral disarmament and appeasement.

Mr. President, 34 Senators are concerned about the expanding pattern of Soviet SALT violations, which can be interpreted as "Break Out." We urge you to decide upon and

propose the appropriate "proportionate responses," which Congress has already authorized last June by a vote of 90 to 5. The Senate has also voted 99 to 0 that the U.S. should not comply with an arms control treaty that the Soviets are confirmed to be violating.

Finally, if the U.S. does not demonstrate firmness by responding to Soviet violations of existing arms control treaties, then the U.S. negotiating posture in Geneva will have no credibility--the Soviets can agree to any terms if they think they can violate any new treaty with impunity. The integrity of the entire arms control process must be restored, and U.S. proportionate responses are required to try to enforce Soviet compliance with existing agreements.

If the U.S. continues to comply with the SALT II Treaty unilaterally, it will require the U.S. to destroy up to 2,500 nuclear warheads, five times as many as the Soviets would have to scrap if they were going to comply themselves. This is unilateral disarmament. It makes no sense to procure any new strategic weapons, unless we stop destroying existing operational weapons in order to comply unilaterally with a proposed SALT II Treaty which is "fatally flawed," "not in the national security interest of the U.S.," unratified, expired, and systematically violated by the Soviet Union.

Important Constitutional, legal, and national security problems are raised if the U.S. does not take proportionate responses to Soviet SALT Break Out violations.

Walter Dill
James Helms
James A. McClure
Frank R. Lautner

Enclosure:

1. Letter to the President on SALT II, 13 March, 1986; signed by 25 Senators;
2. Letter to the President on SALT II, 10 April, 1986; signed by 9 additional Senators.

Copies to:

Secretary of State
 Secretary of Defense
 Chairman, JCS
 Director, CIA
 Director, ACDA

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 8, 1986

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are concerned about the ongoing Soviet strategic nuclear build-up, which is increasing Soviet strategic superiority. We are also concerned about the expanding pattern of Soviet violations of Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties.

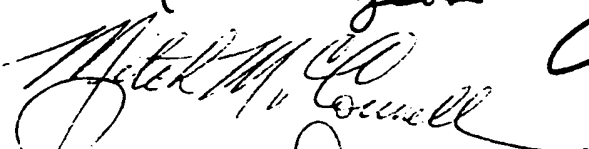
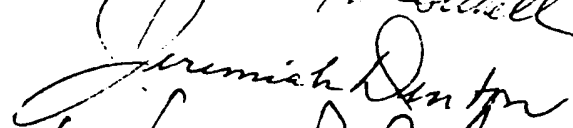
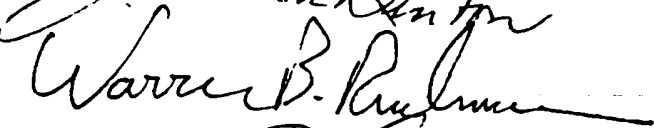
On June 10, 1985, you stated that you had "serious reservations about the inequities of the SALT I Agreement and the serious flaws in the SALT II Agreement." We agree with your reservations. In addition, you pledged then that:

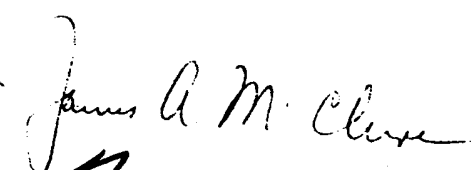
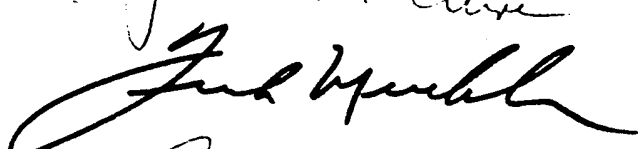
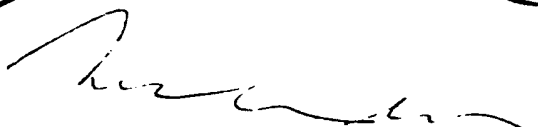
"the United States will develop and, as needed, implement appropriate and proportionate responses to Soviet noncompliance as necessary to ensure the security of the United States and its allies."

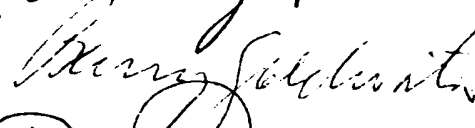
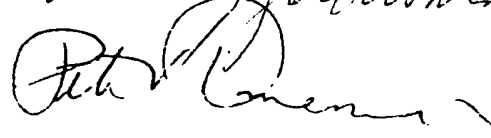
The expanding pattern of Soviet SALT violations documented in your December 1985 Report to Congress and the more recent Arms Control Agency White Paper on Soviet non-compliance makes U.S. proportionate responses necessary. We will support your decision to implement these responses.

Sincerely,



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

March 12, 1986

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

On February 26, 1986, you made a very persuasive televised speech to the nation on the vital necessity for a strong defense posture. We will support your efforts to close the serious gaps with the Soviets in weapons systems.

In your speech you described the unratified, expired SALT II Treaty as:

"...not just a one-sided arms agreement that made it easy for one side to cheat, but a treaty that actually permitted increases in nuclear arsenals. Even supporters of SALT II were demoralized, saying, well, the Soviets just won't agree to anything better. And ... President Carter had to abandon the treaty because Senate leaders of his own party wouldn't support it..."

We strongly agree with your critique of the SALT II Treaty, and we urge you not to dismantle two more Poseidon submarines this April in order to comply with this "fatally flawed," unratified, expired treaty.

Sincerely,

James Helms
William Webb
Ben Armit
Strom Thurmond
John Lamm
Paul Laxalt
Chuck Stenholm
Dan Rostenkowski

James A. McClure
Steve Symms
Eric Reade
Tim Wirth
John Dingell
John P. East

Letter to the President
on SALT II Treaty
March 12, 1986

Edward G. Bremer
James A. Baker
Lawrence B. Long
Don Nichols
Pat Wilson

James H. Dorn
Alan F. Jones
Phil #
Burt Zide
Don Lee

Copies to: Secretary of State
Secretary of Defense
Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Director, CIA
Director, ACDA
Attorney General of the U.S.